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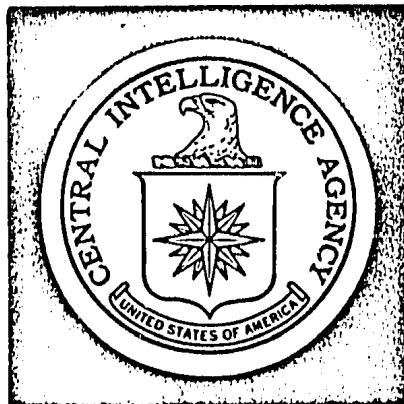
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**DIRECTORATE OF
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Intelligence Memorandum

STUDENT ACTIVITY IN WESTERN EUROPE

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29 June 1970
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Intelligence
29 June 1970

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Student Activity in Western Europe

Summary

Student agitation has fallen off during the past year in most countries of Western Europe, although it continues to be a serious problem in certain areas, notably France. Reasons for the general decline in protest activity from its highwater mark in the spring of 1968 vary from country to country, but a common factor is the fragmentation of the student movement into numerous bitterly antagonistic groups. Government efforts to reform their antiquated educational systems, a fundamental objective of the protest movement, also have appeased student discontent to some degree. Despite continued efforts, student groups have made little or no progress in developing alliances with dissident labor groups.

Many of the conditions which led to the crisis of 1968 persist, however, and radical activists--badly divided as they are--still are capable of provoking violent disturbances. Continuing clashes between students and police in France, combined with violent protest action by other antigovernment elements, have led to the passage of legislation authorizing harsh penalties for demonstrators.

Recent US actions in Indochina have generated a new wave of protests in a number of major centers,

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but the student activity to date does not appear to be on a scale likely to alter the general trend since 1968.

This memorandum examines the student situation in France, West Germany, and Italy, the main centers of student activism in Western Europe.

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I. FRANCE

1. Since May 1968, when a student-sparked revolt brought French society to the point of collapse, student unrest has continued to be a major problem in France. Despite government efforts to reform the educational system, many of the conditions that led to the May 1968 crisis still exist. Although the government banned the most extreme "New Left" student groups involved in the 1968 events, almost all of them have re-emerged under new names. In spite of a substantial fragmentation of the French student movement into a variety of quarreling factions, extremists are still capable of precipitating violent student confrontations with police.

2. One of the most serious of these confrontations was in March 1970, when several hundred student demonstrators clashed with police on the suburban Paris campus of Nanterre in the largest and most serious manifestation of university unrest since the 1968 crisis. This flare-up came just before leaders of France's small shopkeepers resorted to violence to dramatize their economic demands. In May there was a series of terrorist bombings and violent confrontations in Paris involving between 2,000 and 3,000 demonstrators. The conjuncture of these disturbances, combined with the rhetoric of the leaders of the groups involved who advocate violent means for achieving their ends, provoked strong "law and order" reaction in a large sector of the French public. In May, the National Assembly responded by passing--by a massive majority--harsh legislation that introduces into French law for the first time a doctrine of collective responsibility for demonstrators present at the scene of a violent confrontation.

Government Reform Efforts

3. This latest government action is a tacit admission that France's far-reaching university reform program, adopted by the National Assembly in the fall of 1968, has not to date had the desired effect of calming France's troubled campuses. In fact, many members of the Gaullist party's right

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wing hold the reforms responsible for the current unrest, and the new collective responsibility law is a reflection of how they feel student problems should have been handled all along.

4. In the immediate aftermath of the May 1968 crisis, de Gaulle and his newly appointed Minister of Education Edgar Faure took a much more liberal view. As they saw the May crisis, the majority of French students had followed radical leaders like Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the German student attending Nanterre who became known as Danny the Red, not because they wished to destroy French bourgeois society, but because they wanted reforms in the French university system. This system had become overcentralized, bureaucratized, outmoded, irrelevant, and unresponsive to the needs of the more modern industrial society that began to emerge in France in the late 1960s.

5. Edgar Faure introduced legislation, now known as la loi Faure, aimed at eradicating a variety of defects in the system. To deal with the mushrooming student population, which had grown from 170,000 students in 1958 to over 600,000 in 1968,* la loi Faure proposed that a number of new campuses be established. None of these were to have over 10,000 students. To deal with student demands for a voice in university policy, the law authorized the formation of councils in which elected representatives of students and faculty and appointed representatives of the administration together set university policy. To counter the overly rigid and overly centralized university administration that had grown up since Napoleon I, the reform bill gave greater autonomy and power to each university president and reduced the powers of the Ministry of Education in Paris. In an effort to make higher

**Present estimates are between 650,000 and 700,000.*

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education more relevant to modern society and to bring university teachers into closer contact with students, an experimental educational center was set up in the Paris suburb of Vincennes. The old faculties were broken up into something similar to departments in American universities, and the introduction of courses of study that would prepare the student for positions in industry was set as a goal for the future. On paper la loi Faure charted a course of reform designed to extensively renovate the French university structure and to make it the most democratically-run, most student-oriented system of higher education in Europe, and perhaps in the world.

6. Faure's revolution from above almost immediately encountered substantial opposition, both from the entrenched bureaucrats in the Ministry of Education and old-line faculty members on the right, and from student radicals of the left. The conservatives resisted the program because they thought it would not work; the radicals opposed it because they thought it would. The conservatives feared changes that would unsettle their comfortable world and challenge their time-worn techniques and topics; the radicals feared a transformation that might succeed in satisfying the mass of students and gearing the university to the needs of a modern industrialized society they detested.

7. Despite these obstacles, Faure had considerable success in implementing his program during the 1968-1969 academic year. He was able to count on the strong support of President de Gaulle to overcome the reservations of bureaucrats and teachers alike. A dynamic and well-known political figure with a long and successful career dating back to the Fourth Republic, Faure also enjoyed considerable backing from the French public, which hoped that the new program was a panacea for the "problem de jeunesse" that so troubled France. With this kind of support, Faure opened the new Vincennes campus and announced plans for a number

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of other campuses, introduced a new system of grading and course credit, reorganized most faculties, and scheduled elections for the new councils.

8. At this point, Faure began to run into opposition from the left. Various student groups, including the National Union of French Students (UNEF), the largest student union, came out in opposition to the reforms and proclaimed a boycott of the elections. Although the boycott posed a serious threat to the Faure reforms, in the end enough students voted at each campus to allow the new system a beginning, though a shaky one.

9. Given the obstacles faced by Faure, and the scale of his reform program, it is not surprising that only the groundwork for the transformation of the university system was laid during this 1968-69 period. With another year or two, a man of Faure's energy and ambition might well have succeeded--with de Gaulle's help--in wresting from a reluctant National Assembly the funds necessary to build the kind of model university system that he envisioned.

10. At this point, however, the long-range consequences of the May crisis intervened to cut short Faure's career. In addition to giving Faure strong support for educational reform, de Gaulle had decided that only decentralization of all of France's governmental structure would create conditions in which the student-labor crisis of 1968 could not be replayed. He therefore presented to the French people the referendum on regional and senate reform that was rejected by the French electorate in April 1969. De Gaulle resigned, and in the presidential elections that followed, Georges Pompidou was elected the second President of the Fifth Republic.

11. In putting together his new cabinet, Pompidou replaced Faure with his close associate Olivier Guichard, a man who was apparently much less enthusiastic about educational reform than his predecessor. Whereas Faure infused his work with a certain campaign atmosphere, Guichard went back to

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business as usual. Whereas Faure enjoyed the support of de Gaulle in pushing his changes, Pompidou showed less enthusiasm. Whereas Faure inspired a certain confidence among student and faculty reformers and even the grudging admiration of some radicals, Guichard quickly disenchanted the reformers and became a target of abuse for the radicals.

Student Politics

12. Although the goal of la loi Faure was to satisfy the needs of the "moderate" student majority, almost none of France's major student organizations could be classed as moderate--with the possible exception of the Communist-dominated Union des Etudiants Communistes (UEC). Alone among the organizations with a nationwide following, the UEC officially supports most of Faure's reforms and participates in elections for the university councils. In addition, the UEC has formed a caucus within the UNEF called the UNEF-Renouveau, which urges the organization to support la loi Faure and concentrates much of its energies on trying to capture control of the UNEF.

13. The UNEF, France's largest and oldest student union, is deeply divided between those groups that favor reform and those that favor revolution. It is presently controlled by the Etudiants Socialistes Unifies (ESU), which is in turn controlled by Parti Socialiste Unifie (PSU), a small splinter-left political party that fielded a candidate in presidential elections and that holds only one seat in the National Assembly. In addition to the ESU and the UEC, the third major group in the UNEF is the Alliance des jeunes pour le Socialisme (AJS), which is in turn an amalgam of Trotskyist groups, many of which were banned after the 1968 disorders.

14. At its last National Congress in early April, quarreling among the various groups that compose the UNEF reached a new high. The key issue was whether to participate in elections for university councils. Like the UNEF-Renouveau, the AJS favors participation. But while the UNEF-Renouveau favors

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participation in the elections to prevent the "bourgeoisie" from dominating the student community, the AJS justifies participation on the grounds that it is a revolutionary tactic designed to capture secret power points within established organizations to be exploited when a pre-revolutionary situation emerges. The ESU sees the university only as a staging ground for attacks armed at "exploding" bourgeois society and therefore opposes participation altogether. Aligned to the ESU are various small "Maoist" groups that hold a similar position.

15. Given such divergent viewpoints, no two of the three major groups were able to agree on a common program. Thus, although the AJS and the UEC had a theoretical majority at the Congress, they could not work together long enough to oust the ESU from power. And although the ESU--which had only about 30 percent of the delegates--proved unable to convince either of the other major groups to cooperate in a coalition to run the UNEF, the other groups agreed to allow it to continue as the minority ruler of the UNEF.

16. Compared to the UNEF all other student organizations are minuscule; compared to the French student body as a whole, the UNEF membership itself is minuscule, with only some 30,000 members in a student population over 20 times that large. And, as we have seen, these 30,000 members represent only an alliance of quarreling factions.

17. In opposition to the left-wing student organizations are a variety of right-wing, semi-facist groups. The most vocal and well-organized of these is the Ordre Nouveau (New Order) which is composed for the most part of ex-members of Occident, a right-wing group outlawed after the May 1958 crisis. Ordre Nouveau vehemently rejects the Marxism and Maoism of the left and advocates a nationalist ideology that puts the abstract concept of "la nation" above class and other slogans of unity. Numerically small, the Ordre Nouveau contributes to tension in the universities by sporadic assaults--both verbal and physical--on left-wing student groups.

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18. To date no student organization has emerged that both advocates a middle way between the extremists on the right and the left and has been able to mobilize significant student support. The Juenes Patriotes (Union of Young Patriots), has only a handful of followers and little influence on student affairs.

Outlook

19. With the advent of a more democratic university system, which permits any student who has passed the baccalaureat to enter a university after paying only nominal fees, more and more Frenchmen are questioning the value of trying to maintain for all students the rigid and high educational standards set in an era when only a small élite enjoyed admission to the university. One reform proposal currently under consideration would introduce a "short cycle" for many students, a kind of junior college program that would be conducted within the present university structure. Although this plan has been attacked by the left as an attempt to perpetuate class divisions within the university, it is probably the only way to cope with the continued expansion of the student population.

20. Even with such a plan, the Pompidou government is still going to be confronted with hard decisions in the educational field. Minister of Education Guichard observed at the outset of 1969-70 that "the new school year is a budgetary problem;" this analysis strikes to the heart of the matter. Under de Gaulle, education was not given a high enough national priority to keep pace with the expanding student population; and in the final year of his presidency, when he tried to make up for years of neglect, he faced a problem that was simply insurmountable in the short-run.

21. The Pompidou government is aware that the universities are one key to the future of the "new society" Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas has so eloquently proclaimed, but a decision has not yet

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been made to commit the massive funds required to meet the goals set by former Minister of Education Faure. Guichard has already abandoned Faure's goal of campuses limited to 10,000 students, and cannot even meet his own standard of 20,000. Nanterre, for example, was built for 16,000 students, but more than 25,000 students enrolled in the fall of 1969. In Paris, only 4,500 of 20,000 new students enrolling in the fall were able to attend the new campus at Saint Maur, thus increasing the already overcrowded Sorbonne by 15,500 students.

22. In addition to failing to provide physical facilities for the student population, no funds are available for new teaching personnel. Faculty studies recommended that a minimum of 7,000 would be required for 1969-1970; the government budget for the year only provided for 1,400.

23. For the government, as well as for the future of French higher education, the failure to commit substantial new funds to the universities spells serious trouble. It is precisely these conditions that allowed "New Left" groups to gain widespread support among the majority of moderate students in the 1968 crisis. It is precisely these conditions, combined with a lack of leadership and understanding from Pompidou's Minister of Education, that account for the absence of moderate resistance to student riots like those that occurred at Nanterre in March. And it is these conditions that are likely to continue to be the underlying cause of French student unrest.

24. The government's present emphasis on police controls will probably only increase general student sympathy for the radicals. In any case, scattered student strikes and occasional flare-ups of violence are likely to be the rule rather than the exception over the next few years.

25. The size and seriousness of these conflicts will probably depend more on the government's handling of the over-all university crisis than

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on the activities of the radicals. The radical groups are presently so fragmented that no concerted mass action is possible unless the government or university authorities mishandle a small provocation in such a way as to blow it into a major incident. In that situation, a momentary unity of purpose would prevail.

26. Nevertheless, such incidents are not likely to lead to a recurrence of the 1968 crisis, primarily because French labor is in no mood for massive strike action on the scale of 1968. The economy is performing well, and under the leadership of Prime Minister Chaban-Delmas a number of innovations in labor relations have calmed the mood of the French worker. Even in the 1968 crisis, French labor was more intent on gaining a larger share of the affluent society than on destroying it. The often-proclaimed student-labor alliance was in fact never more than a hope. Student efforts to create such an alliance since 1968 have borne little fruit and, given the history of labor antagonism toward students, such an alliance is not likely to emerge.

27. As long as students remain isolated from other numerically significant social groups, they pose little serious threat to the Pompidou regime. By adopting harsh anti-riot measures, however, the Pompidou government may inflame rather than damp down the forces of discontent. Only if the government takes a longer view and devotes its energies to dealing with the underlying causes of student unrest will any lasting solution be found.

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II. ITALYStudent Agitation 1969-70

1. Student agitation was at a fairly low level during the fall and winter of the 1969-70 academic year, although some serious disturbances occurred. During the fall of 1969, the most important student activity was to foster student-worker cooperation in the widespread strikes that were in progress. Students of various political persuasions on the left visited factories and workers' housing and even traveled with the workers from their homes to the factories during rush hours in repeated but largely unsuccessful attempts to establish rapport. Some students also took part in worker protest marches. In late November, for example, student groups participated without incident in an orderly disciplined labor demonstration of some 50,000 metal and mechanical workers in Rome. Only a handful of students is reported to have taken part in the violent labor demonstration of 19 November, when one policeman was accidentally killed, and students appear to have played no role in the Rome and Milan bombings in December 1969.

2. In 1970 some students have been involved in demonstrations against the trials of workers for their activity during the 1969 strikes. The most violent of these incidents was a protest led by the Movimento Studentesco (student movement) in Milan last January. The demonstration was directed particularly at a trial of nine workers accused of violence during a demonstration in Milan the previous November. The protest took place despite the relatively mild outcome of the trial in which five workers were acquitted and four were given suspended sentences and freed. The three trade confederations, some journalists, some party youth groups and various Maoists participated in the protest. Twenty-three demonstrators, at least some of whom evidently were students, were arrested and charged with failure

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to heed police orders and with violence and resistance against public officials (throwing rocks and other dangerous objects), but were released pending trial.

3. Student agitation in the universities thus far during the 1969-70 academic year reached its high point in the period immediately preceding the Christmas holidays. The controversy concerned a law, published on 13 December, which liberalized the individual student's plan of studies. For the first time, the law allowed students to choose courses in other faculties, subject to the approval of their own faculty boards. Much of the controversy stemmed from the precipitate manner in which the law was made public. It was meant to enter into force on 29 December, just two days prior to the deadline for the individual submission of the plans of study established by the same law. Even with the direct intervention of the minister of education, who moved the publication date up to 17 December, the students had only two weeks to register their plans. A great many students were therefore confused about the procedures for liberalizing their study plans, or were unaware that such a possibility existed. At Rome University, a majority at a Movimento Studentesco council meeting on 19 December pronounced itself in opposition to the new law on the grounds that it would further delay a complete reform. Several students argued for an immediate and complete disruption of the university in the remaining days prior to the vacation. Another faction called for the creation of a rising climate of agitation during January, culminating in a total occupation of the university during the first few days of the February examination period. No decision was made, however, either at Rome or apparently at any of the 30-odd other universities and no extensive occupation has taken place.

4.. Little subsequent agitation in the universities was reported until simultaneous student demonstrations took place on 18 April in Rome, Milan, and Trento. In these three cities the

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Movimento Studentesco had organized anti-fascist protests that resulted in clashes with police and neo-fascist groups. The demonstrations may have been prompted by the twenty-fifth anniversary of the assassination of Mussolini. On the other hand, they may foreshadow a new wave of student unrest. During a 24-hour general strike in Rome on 29 April, some 1,500 student extremists joined the principal labor rally, but no violence occurred.

Reasons for Reduced Agitation

5. A major cause of the relative lull in student agitation is probably the reforms enacted at both university and secondary school levels. The reforms at the university level have caused the majority of the student body to become preoccupied with their planning of individual programs. Figures on the degree of student participation are available for the University of Naples, one of the largest of Italy's state schools. Some 70 percent have presented the individual study plans required in order to participate in the new liberalization of the curriculum. This figure reflects the depth of student interest in organizing their own education and freeing themselves from regulations imposing a rigid course of study. According to their professors, a number of the liberal arts students have sought merely to avoid the more difficult courses, but students in law, economics, medicine, and architecture have gradually sought more coherence, dropping some of the subjects generally recognized as irrelevant.

6. At the secondary school level, the examination procedure has been revised to make pass-fail decisions less arbitrary. A substantially larger percentage of candidates are successful under the new procedure.

7. Absence of strong leadership in the Movimento Studentesco has also contributed to the lull in student activity.

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a council made up of representatives of base committees, which function as cells of the Movimento within each division of the university, airing student grievances and mobilizing support for Movimento Studentesco projects. The council meetings are informal gatherings, open to virtually anyone interested in the discussions. Students may represent themselves, a base committee, or a particular student group. Decisions are reached by general consensus; and whether a manifesto is to be written or a demonstration to be organized, the work is divided on a volunteer basis. Occasionally a dissenting group declares its intention to take action independently. Also the carrying out of the council's collective will, after consensus has been reached, is uncertain. Thus, rallies organized by the base committees sometimes fail to take place. The only two mass student rallies staged by the Movimento Studentesco (at Rome) during December were organizational night-mares. Though well publicized for days in advance, both got under way more than one hour late, and the sites were changed after the rallies were to have begun. During the proceedings, quarrels occurred over the order of speakers.

8. The decline in student agitation abroad also plays its part in the lull on the Italian student front. Television coverage of student-police confrontations elsewhere in Europe had an influence both on the methods and on the rationale of student protest in Italy in 1967-69.

Student Organization

9. Any new wave of unrest is likely to be of larger dimensions because a number of new student organizations have developed since the period of 1967-69. The Movimento Studentesco (student movement) itself still appears to have neither headquarters nor national leaders. This designation now serves, however, to cover the action of any substantial number of left-wing students anywhere in the country. Potere Operaio (Worker Power) is an important left-wing group that

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reportedly includes militant elements from the general student movement.

10. A second group, Lotta Continua (Continuous Battle), is also on the far left, with adherents who claim to follow Chinese Communist principles. Stella Rossa (Red Star) is a third but very small Maoist student group.

11. The Proletarian Socialist Party (PSIUP) reportedly finances the three last-named organizations. The PSIUP [] receive a subsidy of over one million dollars annually from the USSR, but most of this money is almost certainly spent on political or labor rather than student activity. The Union of Italian Communists-Marxist/Leninist, a small Maoist political organization, reportedly supplements PSIUP financing of students.

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12. Right-wing students are also organized in Italy and have a tradition of violence. The University Front of National Action (FUAN) is possibly the principal student organization of the extreme right. It is supported by the Youth Organization of the Italian Social Movement (MSI-Italy's neo-fascist party). Giovane Italia (Youth of Italy) is an affiliate of FUAN. Avanguardia Nazionale (National Vanguard) advocates more violence than is employed by FUAN in battles against Communism. Lotta di Popolo (People's Battle) is a small revolutionary fascist organization that describes itself as Nazi-Maoist. The adherents of this group dislike Marxist-Leninist ideology but accept revolutionary and violent methods.

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III. WEST GERMANY

1. Over the past eight months, the West German student scene has been relatively calm and untroubled. The frenetic activity of previous years, particularly 1967 and 1968, has subsided. Street demonstrations still occur, but are fewer in number and less likely to culminate in violence. American diplomatic installations remain favorite targets of placard wavers and slogan chanters, but major confrontations between youth elements and police have abated, at least until lately. To a greater extent than before, students have restricted themselves to campus politics. Some radicals have chosen to pursue their goals within the confines of established political institutions, particularly the Social Democratic Party of Chancellor Brandt. Nevertheless, it is important to note that student activists are still capable of capitalizing on new occurrences. They and their leftist allies, for instance, seized on the American advance into Cambodia to mount demonstrations in West Berlin and many West German cities.

2. Some observers still believe that youth radicalism in West Germany has peaked and is now receding. Others feel that a new and more violent blowup could take place. An officer of the US Embassy in Bonn in early April likened the prospect to a "landscape of smoking but presently inactive volcanoes." It is too early to decide whether there will be further eruptions or whether student radicalism, as a force disruptive of German society, is on the way out.

3. In brief, the signs are mixed. The most striking development is the visible breakdown in the organizational structure of the movement. The national board of the Socialist German Students Federation (Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund--SDS), meeting in Frankfurt on 21 March, dissolved itself following months of factional rivalry and a gradual breakdown of cohesiveness and momentum. Nevertheless, the SDS, long the dominant factor in the student revolutionary movement, is not dead. Local chapters, which traditionally have wielded more influence than the national

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headquarters, continue to function. Despite internal differences over philosophy and tactics, they still have the potential for creating major trouble. It is even possible that without national coordination, competing groups might provoke greater outbursts than have yet been witnessed. So long as the hard-core activist student element remains, the potential for trouble will remain.

4. The SDS has been discounted in the past as a force of little consequence, but has consistently surprised its detractors. It originated in the post - World War II era as an affiliate of the Social Democratic Party at West Germany's universities and other higher educational institutions. Over the years it moved leftward, while the Party was shedding the vestiges of Marxism and adopting the image of a mass party, slightly left-of-center. In 1961 the SPD disaffiliated the SDS and stopped party subsidies to the organization.

5. On its own, the SDS did not languish, but rather found a new prosperity. Infused with a revolutionary philosophy and aping the style of American counter-part groups, it became the spearhead of radical crusades and the single most important component of the Extraparliamentary Opposition (APO), as the whole radical left came to be called. In Rudi Dutschke, the SDS found a colorful and talented leader, and in such issues as Vietnam, the West German "establishment" as represented by the Grand Coalition, the Emergency Laws (designed to give federal authorities extraordinary powers in a crisis), the military dictatorship in Greece, the Springer press empire and above all the sad state of higher education, the SDS found ready-made causes.

6. By the early 1960s, a burgeoning student population was increasingly distressed by the antiquated, overcrowded, and largely authoritarian university system. Capitalizing on this sentiment, the SDS engineered student demonstrations, strikes, and violence that swept up many not previously inclined toward a revolutionary approach. Through it all, however, the actual numbers of SDS members comprised

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no more than one percent of all West German university students. At no time did the student activists significantly realize their hopes of enlisting West German workers to the cause.

7. West Berlin, particularly its Free University, was the focal point of the student agitation, and when a student onlooker, Benno Ohnesorg, was mortally wounded by a policeman's bullet in June 1967, during a protest demonstration against the visiting Shah of Iran, the movement had its martyr. Following the attempt on Rudi Dutschke's life in April 1968 by a youthful rightist fanatic, riots erupted in virtually every West German university city.

8. In retrospect, the Dutschke affair seems to have been both the high point and the start of the downward slide for the radical student movement. As violence mounted and extremism became rampant, sympathy and support from moderate elements ebbed. Issues became scarcer, and without the magnetic Dutschke--robbed of his demagogic talent and fighting zeal by a head wound--the remaining far leftists began to vent their aggressions increasingly on each other and less on society as a whole. In addition, many who had been caught up in the excitement of the moment apparently lost their appetites for revolution, particularly as it became evident that the revolution was not at hand, and lapsed back into the role of bona fide students. Further, police tactics in handling disturbances improved to the point where authorities more frequently were able to prevent the demonstrators either from perpetrating violence or from appearing to be victims of police retaliation.

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10. As some of the issues have receded, so has the acceptability of the old student leftist leadership. Rudi Dutschke

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could return to Berlin as some rumors have suggested. There is no clear sign that he intends to do so, however, or that today's student would welcome yesterday's hero. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the star of the French student uprising, is widely regarded as a traitor in his native Germany, having reportedly become wealthy from his writing and films and then having reneged on promises to turn his money over to "the cause." SDS ideologue Hans-Juergen Krahl was killed recently in an auto accident. Karl-Dietrich Wolff, former chairman of the now defunct national SDS, was caught in a crossfire of criticism from his contentious comrades and was finally discredited by the charge that he had indulged in "mistaken tactics." No outstanding new personalities have emerged to replace these former stars, and there is reason to doubt that any leadership today would have much success in reuniting the warring factions of Maoists, Stalinists, anarchists, and other ideologists.

11. Possibly in recognition of the low estate to which the entire movement has fallen, a number of radical leftists have opted for political action within the confines of established political institutions. In turn, the major party youth organizations--the Young Socialists (Jungsozialisten or "Jusos") of the SPD, the Youth Union (Junge Union) of the CDU and the Young Democrats (Jungdemokraten)

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of the FDP--have displayed a willingness to consider radical arguments. All of these organizations today are open and attractive to politically oriented youth and probably have siphoned off some of the exuberant spirits which earlier found expression in the streets.

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13. A test of the future of the student radical movement will come in the area of educational reform. It was in the universities that trouble really began, and it is there that trouble could again mount.

14. In recognition of the potential explosiveness of the education issue, Chancellor Brandt has given it high priority. In his initial government declaration of 28 October, in fact, Brandt put education and training at the top of his list of domestic reforms. He further signified his interest by transferring scattered responsibilities for higher education to a newly enlarged Ministry for Education and Science (formerly Ministry for Scientific Research). Subsequently, newly appointed Minister Hans Leussink, himself a professional educator and advocate of educational reform, presented a plan designed to move West Germany away from an elite and toward a mass higher education system.

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15. Another problem for federal authorities derives from the fact that education is a shared responsibility with the West German states, which have prime responsibility in the updating of universities [redacted]

[redacted] New universities have been founded in recent years, more are under construction, and others are being actively considered. [redacted]

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[redacted] a federal 18-year old voting law was given final approval by parliament on 18 June.

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16. Of the established schools, West Berlin's Free University stands out as one that appears to have made progress, for better or worse, in meeting student demands. The old rector system, in which a leading professor holds the helm for a year or two, has been replaced by a presidential system, in which persons presumed to have executive talent manage school affairs. In Berlin the changeover has led to an administration that is dominated by the left. The outcome of this sharp departure from tradition is unclear. An initial falling-off of the turmoil experienced in previous years seemed to support the conclusion that the leftists, having arrived at the seat of power and responsibility, might have lost some of their fervor or were too busy with administrative details to foment trouble. Recurring spasms of violence, verbal dueling between University authorities and city officials, the departure of several senior professors, and a decline in enrollment are current factors that have led to a generally pessimistic conclusion--namely that the University has become so radicalized that it is fast losing its status as an institution dedicated to free inquiry.

17. To what extent the reforms proposed and enacted by governmental and university authorities damp down student discontent will be tested over the long run. At present many would-be students cannot get into

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crowded universities and many of those who do, feel they are still being subjected to a less than sympathetic professorial regime that offers an inferior product. As the younger generation grows, the problem is likely to become more critical. One expert predicts that if progress is not made by 1972, there will be not several thousand students in the street, as was the case in 1967-68, but tens of thousands of high school graduates protesting vehemently their lack of opportunity to study further. If, however, the voting age limit has been lowered from 21 to 18 by then, as the Brandt government has promised, then the young could vent their frustrations at the polls.

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